

**BLACK LEADERSHIP ON BLACK LIBERATION: THE INFLUENCE OF
MARCUS GARVEY AND KWAME NKRUMAH, 1914 – 1966**

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ABSTRACT: *Even though he was not highly educated, yet Marcus Garvey was well informed of not only the plight of the black man in the Americas and that of his compatriot under colonial rule in his ancestral homeland but also the difficulties they encountered in their attempts to alleviate their situations. It was in these circumstances that he founded his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) to champion the crusade of black liberation. His preachings in Harlem and on the pages of the Negro World as well as his compendium – The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey did conjure illusions of freedom in many an African nationalist leader prominent among whom was Kwame Nkrumah. On attainment of independence, Nkrumah not only hosted two PanAfrican conferences but also made his country a haven for other nationalist leaders. His writings and active involvement in the crusade of African liberation led directly to the foundation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its principled stance against the minority and apartheid regimes in then Southern Rhodesia and South Africa respectively.*

ABSTRACT: Black Leadership, Black Liberation, Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah

INTRODUCTION

Borned into a financially stable family on August 17, 1887, Marcus Mosiah Garvey was the youngest of the eleven children his parents were blessed with, even though only him and his sister, Indiana, survived to adulthood.¹ His father had a large library and this was where Marcus Garvey gained his love for reading early in life. It was at the elementary schools that Marcus Garvey first experienced racism. At his teenage his white friends who had been his playmates as children began to shun him². In 1900 Marcus Garvey was an apprentice with his uncle, Alfred Barrowa who also had an extensive library of which Marcus made good use of. He left home in 1910 travelling widely in Central American region during which time he served as an editor of *Le nationale*, a daily newspaper and a biweekly in Panama and as a time keeper on a banana plantation in Costa Rica. In 1912, Marcus Garvey left Jamaica for London where he studied law and philosophy at Birbeck College and worked for the *African Times and Orient Review* owned by Duse Mohammed Ali, an Egyptian journalist and Pan Africanist.³

Duse Mohammed Ali was determined to put into effect the economic dimension of PanAfricanism. He involved himself actively in the formation and promotion of economic projects designed to improve the fortunes of black owned firms, commercial ventures all over the world⁴ and in the process help raise the standard of life of black peoples on one hand and on the other spread the awareness of the PanAfrican movement. As events were to show later in his life, Duse Mohammed Ali had left “considerable influence” on Marcus Garvey much more than his African American compatriots like Booker T. Washington, Martin Delany and

Henry McNeal Turner,⁵ especially in his organisation of his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) on July 19, 1914⁶.

His travels in South and Central America, the West Indies, Europe and readings of extant literature on North American history, Marcus Garvey saw the lot of the Black man the same - despised, down trodden and misused. He saw no black government anywhere even in Africa – the ancestral homeland. He came to a conclusion to do something urgently to change the sad situation of the Black man. He saw a vision of

a new world of black men, not peons, serfs, dogs and slaves, but a nation of sturdy men making their impress upon civilization and causing a new light to dawn upon the human race. I could not remain in London any more. My brain was afire. There was a world of thought to conquer. I had to start ere it became too late and the work be not done.⁷

It was in this frame of mind that the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) was founded, the name of the association being derived from the information he got from a fellow traveler aboard his ship from London on the horrible plight of Africans in Basutoland.⁸ An organization was desperately needed to champion and direct the anticipated protest crusade.

Two broad avenues were adopted to reach his target audience: speeches that were delivered to a wide range of fora both in North America, the West Indies and Europe and print media – *The Negro World* which had wide circulation in the Americas and Africa in spite of severe restrictions by the colonial regimes.⁹ In his speeches Marcus Garvey emphasized the need for unity among the Negro race so as to get justice which was predicated on strength that was only possible through unity. He warned his compatriots not to waste time in

breathless appeals to the strong while we are weak, but lend our time, energy and effort to the accumulation of strength among ourselves by which we will voluntarily attract the attention of others...We must make our own impression upon a world of injustice and convince men by the same means or methods of reasoning as others by their strength do.¹⁰

Undoubtedly, the vision of a unified race of over four hundred million people all working to improve the race captured the imagination of millions as by the early 1920s the Universal Negro Improvement Association had “900 branches with an approximate membership of 6,000,000.”¹¹ Nigerian nationalists were also inspired.¹²

One of the central points of the UNIA crusade was Negro self reliance. He preached against the Negro’s dependence on others for “a kindly and sympathetic consideration of their needs without making the effort to do for themselves” which attitude has been “the race’s standing disgrace by which we have been judged and through which we have created the strongest prejudice against ourselves.”¹³ He pointed to the glittering successes of John D. Rockefeller and Henry Ford achieved through individual effort that has brought them respect. Negroes were urged to emulate these successful Americans so that they too can breakdown “the prejudice of the rest of the world,”¹⁴ warning that prayers alone will not improve the condition of the negro race.

Attainment of respect through dint of hard work, success and achievement in America by the Negro was not enough for Marcus Garvey. It must be global. He argued

...As four hundred million men, women and children worthy of the existence given us by the Divine Creator, we are determined to solve our own problems by redeeming our Motherland Africa from the hands of alien exploiters, and found there a government, a nation of our own strong enough to lend protection to the members of our race scattered all over the world and compel the respect of the nations and races of the earth.¹⁵

As far as Marcus Garvey saw it, there was no reason why the four hundred million black men of the world should not reconquer their motherland leaving it to be exploited by the white man. And in this project he saw the crucial role of the African-American who should take this gospel back to the motherland, rally his brothers and with his knowledge and information, “help develop the country for the common good”. He urged African Americans to get that courage of manhood” that at will enable them to strike out irrespective of who the enemy is and demand these things that are ours by right, moral, legal and divine”.¹⁶ Garvey made it clear to his compatriots that races safeguard themselves by their strength and that the Negro would be day dreaming that the white race will ever protect him more than himself¹⁷ and that the Negro should wake up and make Africa his and protected by him. He coined the phrase “Africa for Africans”.

Marcus Garvey advocated a back-to-Africa movement – a gradual movement of the thoughtful and industrious. It was only in Africa that the Negro would enjoy peace, justice and respect. Where the government will be his own and unencumbered.¹⁸ It was in the pursuit of these laudable objectives that the UNIA was founded and around which the guiding principles of the organization were formulated.¹⁹ Above all, Marcus Garvey called on all Negroes to be proud of their colour and strive to excel in all spheres of human endeavour to enhance their pride and inspire respect of other races. He reminded them that what the white man knows today was inherited from the Egyptian civilization which was created by the black man.²⁰

Garvey's *Negro World* and *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* were easily accessible to African students in Black colleges situated in Black communities and so were exposed to local UNIA branch activities in such neighbourhoods.²¹ Available evidence shows that Marcus Garvey's preaching was well received among his target audience. Harvard Sitkoff says of Garvey's ability to sensitize crowds

...A master showman, Garvey dramatized the extreme plight of Afro Americans and the desperate necessity for change. An intuitive psychologist he radicalized the powerless by instilling in them a sense of their potential power. And a persuasive teacher, the Jamaican convinced masses of Negroes that white racism and not black failings explained their lowly status.²²

Although his ideas were well received, yet Marcus Garvey and W.E.B Dubois disagreed²³ over methods of alleviating the black plight.

Many an African student was greatly inspired by Marcus Garvey's message. For Nnamdi Azikiwe, then a student at Hope Waddell Training Institute, Garvey's message that

God Almighty created each and every one of us for a place in the world, and for the least of us to think that we were created only to be what we are and not what we can make ourselves, is to impute an improper motive to the creator for creating us.²⁴

had a especial significance, made much more so by UNIA's motto of "One God, One Aim, One Destiny". Azikiwe resolved "to formulate my philosophy of life, as far as was practicable towards the evangelization of universal fatherhood, universal brotherhood and universal happiness."²⁵ More important, by his own admission, Azikiwe notes that UNIA's motto gave him the ambition "to be of service for the redemption of Africa."¹¹ These were sparks which kindled my spirit and made me seek avenue to articulate my feelings and yearning.²⁶

Admittedly, there was no practical way Marcus Garvey could have implemented his grandiose plan of invading Africa and establish there a black nation as the masses in Africa thought he would. However, the philosophy of Garveyism with its elements of

race pride, race consciousness, nationalism and its correlant of economic stability appeals to the modern political enthusiast who keeps his head clear and steers away from chauvinism...²⁷

What was more, Marcus Garvey did set up businesses the most prominent of which was the shipping line – the Black Star Line – to give practical effect to his preachings on black self help and self reliance.

Nkrumah on African Liberation

By 1940 when he died²⁸, Marcus Garvey had planted the idea of an African continent free from colonial domination, self reliant, economically buoyant, political stable and a centre of unity of all her citizens and peoples of African descent in the diaspora. The realization of this vision became the objective of many an African nationalist among whom was Kwame Nkrumah. He argued "I think that of all the literature that I studied, the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey..."²⁹

Long before the attainment of independence of the Gold Coast in 1957, Nkrumah had promised that on the attainment of independence by the Gold Coast, he would pursue rigorously two major issues: "a PanAfrican policy to advance the African Revolution" and "at the same time the adoption of measures to construct socialism in Ghana".³⁰ In the pursuit of the African revolution he saw Ghana's independence as only the first step on the path of full independence as

a necessary prerequisite for economic and social progress in Africa, but is meaningless while any part of the continent remains unliberated, and while the masses are exploited by the forces, both domestic and foreign of international monopoly finance.³¹

PanAfricanism was activated on African soil by the hosting of a conference of independent African States in Accra in April, 1958.

In his welcome address Nkrumah informed the delegates that they gathered “out of our own free will to speak our minds openly to argue and discuss, to share our experiences, our aspirations, our dreams and our hopes in the interest of Mother Africa”.³²

The purpose of the conference was to explore ways and means of safe guarding and consolidating their hard won independence, strengthen their economic and cultural ties, find workable arrangements to help “our brothers still languishing under colonial rule, the need to deal with racialism and to find ways to secure world peace”.³³ Barely eight months later, Kwame Nkrumah hosted another conference – the first All African Peoples Conference in Accra. The main purpose of this conference was to encourage the nationalist movements in colonial Africa as a means towards continental unity and socialist transformation of society.³⁴ At the end of the conference, the delegates agreed to, among other issues, work actively for a final assault on colonialism and imperialism, the setting up of a secretariat to co-ordinate nationalist activities and condemned racialism and agreed to work for the ultimate attainment of a union of African states.³⁵

On November 23, 1958 Ghana and the Republic of Guinea took the first practical step in African unity by creating “a nucleus for a union of African states”³⁶ in the form of a system of exchange of ministers. This was followed in July, 1959 by a meeting of the presidents of Liberia, Guinea and Ghana at Saninquelle to discuss the question of African emancipation and unity. A declaration of principles was signed. The declaration carried the name of the body. “The Community of Independent African States”. It provided for, among other things, the building of a free and prosperous African community and open membership to all independent African states and federations with the motto of the union “Independence and Unity”.³⁷ This declaration was followed in April, 1961 by the signing of a charter that brought into existence a Union of African States (UAS) that comprised Ghana, Guinea and Mali. The four objectives of the Union were, to achieve a common orientation in domestic policy; a common defence policy system; concerted foreign policy and a common economic planning and wealth development.³⁸

Women were not left out. They saw a piece of the action A conference of African women was held in Accra in July, 1960. It discussed common problems facing womanhood in Africa, freedom and unity and the need for social and economic progress.³⁹ This conference came after an earlier conference in April, 1960, that was called and hosted by Kwame Nkrumah in conjunction with other states to deliberate on “positive Action and Security in Africa”. This conference deliberated on the issues of the moment: the situations in Algeria and South Africa, the French atomic tests in the Sahara and the need to plan action to stop these tests, the total liberation of Africa and to plan how to guard against neo-colonialism which could impede African unity.⁴⁰

Kwame Nkrumah had made it very clear that the independence of the Gold Coast was only a prelude to the total liberation of the African continent from colonial domination. As part of the measures to achieve this objective, an ideological institute was founded at Winneba in February, 1961. At the occasion of the foundation laying ceremony and inauguration of the first course of the ideological institute on February 28, 1961, Nkrumah noted that

The Kwame Nkrumah Institute will not cater for Ghana alone. Its doors will be opened to all from Africa and the world who seek knowledge to fit themselves for the great freedom fight against imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and the consolidation of peace throughout the world for the progress of mankind.⁴¹

Upon graduation, the graduates would return to their countries “fortified in the same principles and beliefs, pursue the same objectives and aims, appreciate the same values and advocate the same themes”. Naturally Nkrumah foresaw “a great monolithic party growing up out of this process, united and strong, spreading its protective wings over the whole of Africa...”⁴² On the attainment of independence, Ghana became a Mecca of sorts to nationalist leaders in Africa to get inspiration and support from its PanAfricanist government.

A large number of African colonies gained their independence in 1960. In spite of their own internal differences, African leaders were clear that

there was something which all black men held in common something which cut across opposing points of view and placed in the same context their widely dissimilar experience...to remake the world in their own image and no longer be controlled by the vision of the world to come into the world... as men.⁴³

This was the setting when the representatives of thirty one (31) African states gathered in a conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, deliberated and signed a charter establishing the Organization of African Unity (OAU).⁴⁴ Kwame Nkrumah had labored tirelessly for the formation of the continental organization⁴⁵ in the hope that this would be a continental union with a unified political, trade, diplomatic, industrial, foreign, and planning policies for the creation of a modern society which would give African peoples the opportunity to enjoy a full and satisfying life, that would take adequate care of imperialist and neo-colonialist designs, irredentism and commercial rivalries.⁴⁶

Clearly the quest for African unity was a consuming passion of Kwame Nkrumah. So why was it such a consuming passion? First, as far as Nkrumah saw it, African unity or an African union government would advance the African revolution which started in 1957 with the independence of the Gold Coast colony. Second, an African union government would help liberate African territories still under colonial rule. In fact the unity of Africa was

above all a political kingdom which can only be gained by political means. The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom.⁴⁷

Nkrumah cited the United States of America (USA) and Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) that grew out of political decisions to convince his colleagues. Third, an African union government would be in a better position to deal with racialism in the continent. Fourth, African Unity was very necessary for a successful confrontation with imperialism and neo-colonialism; a confrontation in which unity would be Africa’s strongest weapon. He warned his colleagues that colonialism and imperialism were very close relations and that they were acting out of the same script and that African leaders

would be deceiving ourselves in the most cruel way were we to regard their individual actions as separate and unrelated.⁴⁸

So in like manner, he urged African states to unite to confront successfully colonialism and imperialism:

Fifth, African unity would give political direction to joint efforts like the protection and economic development of the African continent. He cited the German industrial revolution that came after her unification which provided the stimulus to expanding capitalism and gave a suitable population basis for the absorption of manufactured goods⁴⁹. Finally, an African union government would enable Africa speak with one voice in the councils of the world⁵⁰. In any case, having to common foreign policy and diplomacy would take away the enormous burden of separate diplomatic representations, remove artificial colonial borders and restore a semblance of Old Africa. Clearly a continental union of African states was a *sine qua non* if African leaders were determined to move forward to a realization of a modern society that would give African peoples the opportunity to enjoy a full and satisfying life; the moreso as the forces that “unite us are intrinsic and greater than the superimposed influences that keep us apart.”⁵⁰ In furtherance of his determination, Kwame Nkrumah offered to surrender Ghana’s sovereignty to an African Union, an offer that Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Nigerian prime minister, laughed off.⁵¹

Kwame Nkrumah was equally determined to effect an African economic integration as a necessary follow up of the political union. What was more? Africa of his day boasted

96% of diamonds (excluding the USSR), 69% cobalt, 63% gold, 48% antimony, 37% manganese, 34% chromite, 32% phosphate rock, 24% copper, 19% asbestos, 15% tin, 4% iron, 4% bauxite, 85% columbite.⁵²

In addition to these, the continent had the greatest reserves of uranium ore and water potential in the world. Her coal reserves were estimated at 45 million tons, while oil was discovered in the northern, western and central parts of the continent. She had 27% of world forests and vast agricultural potential among other natural assets.⁵³ These natural resources were exploited by the colonial authorities much more to their advantage than the Africans.⁵⁴

The sum total of these exploitations was that on attainment of independence none of these new African states was able to stand on its own and those that attempted to were forced to return to the fold of their former colonial masters.⁵⁵ Yet Africa had the resources, energy and talents and only the political will to harness these on a continental basis was lacking. It was this void that Kwame Nkrumah wanted to fill. Accordingly, Nkrumah campaigned for a common African market with a central bank, common currency and monetary zone – all of which would have commanded foreign investments,⁵⁶ since investors would have been sure of the market. More important, it would have eliminated the need for loans which did not come without conditionalities e.g. tying of loans to purchase of goods from donor countries, lower trade barriers in favor of donor countries, determination of how the loans be used etc by donors.⁵⁷ More often, loans were used to pilfer poor states e.g. between 1956 and 1962 and between 1961 and 1962 the developed world made \$15 billion and \$11.8 billion on investments of \$30 billion and \$6 billion respectively from developing states.⁵⁸

Nkrumah also hated financial handouts from European economic blocs e.g. the EEC; insisting on African self help and self reliance. African salvation as far as Nkrumah saw it, laid in

African leaders taking a bold step to establish an African union government and effect full economic integration at continental level and so free themselves from imperialist and neo colonialist mechanizations. African leaders failed to heed Nkrumah's warning for over thirty six years. They woke up after the failure of the OAU was now too obvious to be ignored.⁵⁹

As far as Nkrumah saw it, central economic planning in Africa would eliminate custom barriers and currency difficulties – which in fact were not difficulties only if African leaders were “set against their solution”. To complement this measure, an African Development Institute was to be set up to “eliminate the excessive duplication of experimental work that now goes on in Africa” because we have “no central planning organization for directing research and pooling knowledge and experience”⁶⁰

He further argued that large land mass, huge population and central planning were the factors that explained China's increased industrial output of 276% between 1950 and 1957; while large population also partly explain the formation of the European common market.⁶¹ Likewise African states should come together for their own advancement as without central economic planning economic development would be very hard to attain. He made it clear that pooling African economies was not pooling poverty because the core of integration is the co-ordination of all sectors of the economies. Second, there would be elimination of imbalances in identical forms of primary trading economies and provide for the erection of complimentary pattern of development that would give the fullest opportunity for progressive capital formation. Third, pooling the economies would command foreign investment.⁶² Rapid African industrialization and the consequent raising of the standard of living of her peoples as far as Nkrumah saw it, depended on central economic planning. Anything less than this would leave African economies stagnant or worse deteriorate.⁶³ Leaving the continent exposed to the imperialists and neo-colonialists to manipulate and so indefinitely postpone the fullest expression of the African personality.⁶⁴

Nkrumah believed that political freedom was the prerequisite for economic and social progress in Africa. He saw socialism and African unity as being organically complementary. Hence he believed that it was under socialism that capital can be accumulated to be applied to development, and so “attain our goal of a free and united continent”.⁶⁵ Nkrumah ignored the fact that in various regions of Africa feudal relations and social stratification existed,⁶⁶ and used the term “class” only in reference to relations between the imperialists and African countries. So he devoted his time to developing ethical principles for an African society that chose socialism as its goal. Among these ethical principles are repulsion of greed, vanity, adoration of modesty and moral purity.⁶⁷

The survival of Africa's social and political structure of his dream was to be guaranteed by a military organization – an African High Command. He had worked out its detail structure and composition and other relevant incidentals that would make it strong enough to deter imperialist and neo-colonialist adventurers.⁶⁸

Nkrumah's political career was cut short by a military coup d' etat on February 23, 1966 when he was out of the country in search of world peace. With the abrupt termination of his government, the tempo of the crusade for African political and economic liberation and continental unity lapsed into a long slumber, that ended in July 2002.

CONCLUSION

Completely dissatisfied with the conditions of his racial compatriots all over the world, Marcus Mosiah Garvey (jn) stirred them to the realities of their conditions and the urgent need for them to do something about it through self help and self-reliance by practical example. His clarion call caught on and for this, he fell foul with the powers that be and was neutralized. Kwame Nkrumah, a worthy successor, took up the crusade and in response to the realities of the times pushed it to new heights. His analysis of the African political, economic and social conditions were very apt as were the solutions he proffered for their amelioration. Regrettably, his contemporaries failed to appreciate his crusade, thanks to the imperialist and neo-colonialist intrigues. The African Union (AU) founded in July, 2002 has taken up the crusade of African Liberation from where Kwame Nkrumah left it in 1966.

ENDNOTES

- [1] He was born in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica to Marcus Mosiah Garvey (Snr) and Sarah Jeme Richards. While his father was a mason, the mother was a domestic worker. For details see Accessed March 16, 2015. <http://www.com>
- [2] Ibid
- [3] Ibid
- [4] Ian Duffield, "the Business Activities of Duse Mohammed Ali: An example of the Economic Dimension of PanAfricanism 1912 – 1945", *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol.4, No. 4, (June 1969): 571-600.
- [5] Accessed on March 16, 2015 <http://www.com>.
- [6] Amy Jacques Garvey, *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey on Africa for Africans*, New Preface by Tony Martin, (Denver, Massachusetts, Majority Press, 1986), 126.
- [7] Ibid
- [8] Ibid
- [9] Nnamdi Azikiwe, *My Odysee: An Antobiography*, (Ibadan Spectrum Books Limited, 2004), 34. Also see R. L. Okonkwo, "The Garvey Movement in Nigeria", (*Calabar Historical Journal*, Vol. 2, No.1, June 1978): 108
- [10] Amy Jacques Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions* 12-13
- [11] Ibid, 131
- [12] R. L. Okonkwo, *the Garvey Movement*, 113.
- [13] Amy Jacques Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions*, 23
- [14] Ibid
- [15] Elliot P. Skinner, "The Dialectic between Diaspora and the Homeland "Harris, Joseph E. (edt) *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, (Washington DC, Howard University Press, 1982), 24
- [16] Amy Jacques Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions*, 67
- [17] Ibid, 107
- [18] Ibid, 122
- [19] Ibid, 81, 95 – 97
- [20] Amy Jacques Garvey E. U. Essien Udom (edt) *More Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey Vol.3 Previously Unpublished Papers*, (Routledge, Taylor & Frances Group, 1977), 145-6

- [21] E. E. Edunam, *African Nationalism Brewed in American Pot? Nigerian Students in the USA, 1920-50*, (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Calabar, 1984) 203
- [22] Ibid, 207
- [23] Amy Jacques Garvey & E. U. Essien Udom, *More Philosophy and Opinions*, 124-6
- [24] Nnamdi Azikiwe, *My Odyssey*, 34
- [25] Ibid, 35
- [26] Ibid, 66, 160 - 175
- [27] Ibid, 162
- [28] Amy Jacques Garvey & E. U. Essien Udom, *More Philosophy and Opinions*, xi
- [29] Kwame F. Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, (New York, International Publishers, 1976), 45
- [30] Kwame Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, (Accra, Government Printer, 1972) 125
- [31] Ibid
- [32] Ibid, 128
- [33] Ibid
- [34] Ibid, 130
- [35] Ibid, 131
- [36] Ibid, 141
- [37] Ibid
- [38] Ibid, 142
- [39] Ibid, 138
- [40] Ibid
- [41] Ibid, 169
- [42] Ibid
- [43] Vernon McKay, *Africa in World Politics. A Comprehensive Report on Africa's Contact with Europe, Asia and the Americas*, (New York, Macfadden Book Corporation with Harper and Row Publisher Inc, 1964), 121 – 2
- [44] Martin Meredith, *The State of Africa: A History of Fifty Years of Independence*, (London, The Free Press, 2005), 143
- [45] Kwame Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 230-42
- [46] Ibid, 214-45
- [47] Ibid, 235
- [48] Ibid
- [49] Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, (London, Panaf Books Ltd, 1974), 157
- [50] Kwame Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 227
- [51] Trevor Clark, *A Right Honourable. Gentleman: The Life and times of Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafewa Balewa*, (Zaira, Hudahuda Publishing Company, 1991), 419. Sir Abubakar was later to emphatically reject the proposal to a West German newspaper commentator. Togolese politicians also rejected a Ghana/Togo Union because the union would amount to “a master and boy relationship. For details see p. 419 of this citation.
- [52] Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 150
- [53] Ibid, 152
- [54] Ibid, 23-29
- [55] Ibid, 242
- [56] Ibid, 169
- [57] Ibid, 327
- [58] Ibid, 326
- [59] This realization was manifested in the form of the African Union (AU) which replaced the OAU in July 2002 with the objective of African political and economic integration.

Which would have preceded the European Union had African leaders headed Kwame Nkrumah's clarion call.

[60] Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 157

[61] *Ibid*, 165

[62] *Ibid*, 168-9

[63] *Ibid*, 168

[64] *Ibid*, 193

[65] Kwame Nkrumah, *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*, (London, Panaf Books Ltd, 1974), 28

[66] *Ibid*, 184

[67] *Ibid*, 193

[68] *Ibid*; for more details, see all of this text.